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THE INDIA EARTHQUAKE: THE U.S./INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

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HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

OCTOBER 19, 1993

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs



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THE INDIA EARTHQUAKE: THE U.S./ INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1993

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA AND THE PACIFIC,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 3:20 p.m., in room 2255, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Gary L. Ackerman (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. ACKERMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Several hours before dawn on the morning of September 30, a devastating earthquake—measuring 6.4 of the Richter scale—hit Southcentral India and literally ripped asunder the lives of hundreds of thousands of people.

Initial estimates reported the death toll as high as 50,000. Fortunately, it now appears that the actual count of those killed will be considerably lower; approximately 10,000. Even so, it would be difficult to overstate the magnitude of the disaster.

In Killari, which stood at the very epicenter of the earthquake, 25 percent to 30 percent of the town's people were killed and 90 percent of the structures were leveled. Other villages lost as much as 60 percent of their population. Overall, over 30,000 homes were damaged. Thousands of people were injured. Schools, clinics, bridges—all crumbled in an instant.

Even today we do not know the full total of people killed, homes and buildings flattened, the lives turned upside down. But we do know enough to state with little fear of contradiction that this is the worst earthquake to hit the subcontinent in more than a half century.

The earthquake left as many as 250,000 men, women and children in need of emergency assistance. The Indian Government immediately mobilized 50,000 military personnel and rushed hundreds of disaster teams to this stricken area. In addition, the Government of India, for the first time in its history, announced that it would accept international relief assistance. Food, shelter, medicines, drinking water and medical supplies poured in from Italy, Norway, France, Canada, Denmark and a number of other countries. Even Pakistan, India's arch rival, announced that it would contribute two planeloads of relief aid.

I am pleased to say that the United States also responded to this terrible tragedy in a generous and timely fashion. The American Embassy in New Delhi immediately made a cash donation to the India Relief Fund. Two C-5 aircraft loaded with supplies were dis-

patched to Bombay, and President Clinton directed Raymond Flynn, the U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican, to proceed directly to the disaster scene to ensure that everything that might be done to alleviate the plight of survivors was in fact being done.

Joining us today are two representatives from the Clinton administration who played an important role in devising and implementing this response to last month's tragedy in India. Each is appearing before us today for the first time.

Testifying first will be Robin Raphel, Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia. Secretary Raphel will be followed by Nan Borton, Director of the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

I have asked our two witnesses to appear here this afternoon to brief the subcommittee on the magnitude of the problems faced by the Indian people; on the immediate response on the part of the Indian Government, the American Government and other public and private donors; and perhaps most importantly, on what remains to be done and what role the United States will play in helping the Indian people recover from this horrendous earthquake.

Before I conclude, let me say to our friends in India that we here in the United States have been profoundly moved by your tragedy. We wish to do whatever we can to assist in the reconstruction process that is now going forward. We want you to know that you can count on our thoughts and our prayers, on our good wishes, and on our tangible assistance, as you go about the job of rebuilding your lives.

Madam Secretary.

STATEMENT OF ROBIN RAPHEL, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, BUREAU OF SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Ms. RAPHEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am pleased to join my colleague, Nan Borton, here today to talk about the response to the earthquake in India's state of Maharashtra.

Ms. Borton will give you the details about this massive human tragedy and the response to it. I want to join President Clinton and others in extending my personal sympathy to the victims and to their families. Such events remind us how uncertain life can be, and of the need to be well prepared to meet such emergencies.

The U.S. Government was able to coordinate quickly with the Government of India. We provided material for temporary housing for 11,000 families within the first few days after the tragedy. For their part, the Indians supplied the personnel and transport inside the country that enabled our contribution to reach the earthquake site in record time.

Our ability to accomplish this came as no surprise, at least not to those of us who have observed such cooperation before. There is a long-standing U.S. partnership with India in meeting natural and human disasters around the globe. This is what we are doing now with our joint peacekeeping efforts in Somalia and in Cambodia. Such efforts are just one aspect of a relationship that continues to broaden and to deepen. We see India as an increasingly important partner on the whole range of global issues. I am saddened that this encouraging development has been highlighted by such a trag-

ic event, but I do look forward to benefits we both will obtain from increasingly close Indo-U.S. ties.

The assessment of the experts, I understand, is that the response to this disaster, coordinated by the Indian Government and Indian military authorities, was rapid, comprehensive and well organized. The immediate relief needs have been met, but long-term reconstruction and rehabilitation is necessary. I understand the Indian Government has signed an agreement with the World Bank for \$300 million in assistance to the stricken areas. We, of course, stand ready to consult with the Indian authorities on any additional requirements that they feel are necessary.

Mr. Chairman, that is all I have prepared to say. I think Ms. Borton has a more detailed statement with more of the specific facts of our effort. If I could turn the floor over to her or answer any questions you might have of me.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Thank you very much, Madam Secretary. Why do we not go directly to Ms. Borton.

STATEMENT OF NAN BORTON, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF U.S. FOREIGN DISASTER ASSISTANCE, U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Ms. BORTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and other members of the committee for giving me this opportunity to talk about what I think was really quite a splendid response from our country to the needs in India.

As you know, India has a strong tradition of self-sufficiency. And even in the face of this huge loss of human life and destruction to the property, it was able once again to mobilize its forces. This is the first time, as you have noted, that since its independence in 1947 that India has actually had to request foreign assistance in a relief situation.

We were in a position to respond very, very rapidly. We had been in contact with the Government of India through our Embassy and through the USAID mission in Delhi, from the time we first became aware of the earthquake, and within 48 hours of the earthquake President Clinton had dispatched his personal envoy, our Ambassador to the Vatican, Raymond Flynn, and a small delegation to deliver more than \$1.7 million worth of USAID-financed shelter materials and other emergency assistance to India. The shelter material alone, as you know, took care of 11,000 families, roughly.

The President's decision to send his personal representative to the earthquake site was received with great appreciation as an indication of the President's personal sympathy and concern and that of other citizens of our country. The U.S. Government, through the U.S. Agency for International Development, has made a generous contribution to the total international response for this disaster.

As you know, the earthquake, which was a very large one, 6.4 on the Richter, hit just before dawn on September 30, it caused widespread loss of life and destruction of property, with the most severely affected areas being in Osmanabad and Latur Districts in Maharashtra. The epicenter of the quake was near Killari, which is located about 300 miles east of Bombay.

More than 80 villages were affected, many of these were entirely leveled, with damage to more than 30,000 homes. As many as 150,000 people were made homeless, and among the survivors were more than 15,000 injured. Effects of the earthquake, the tremors of the earthquake were also felt as far as 400 miles from the epicenter. And the earthquake, as you pointed out, is the worst to hit the subcontinent since 1935, and that was in Quetta, which is now Pakistan, of course.

The initial reports of the death toll ranged as high as 50,000 persons, but the Government of India now lists the number of fatalities as in the range of 10,000. This is still an enormously high death toll, as you know, and it was enormously high for two reasons:

One being that it struck while most people were indoors and sleeping; and the second reason is the construction of the houses in that area is of stone piled on heavy wooden frames, so people were crushed as they slept.

Ironically, it was the poor who were the least affected in this case because the poor, the homes of the poor are nowhere near as heavily constructed. They are made more of woven straw and were not deadly to those that were in it. Many others were sleeping outdoors, in fact.

In some communities, 90 percent of the structures—of the homes were destroyed. The sort of properly built government buildings, schools and buildings like that, tended to withstand the earthquake quite well and were used then subsequently as shelter. But the homes were leveled.

The State of Maharashtra, and the government, and the National Armed Services coordinated the relief operation for the Government of India. Within 24 hours of the disaster, more than 50,000 Indian military personnel, including 10 medical teams, had been mobilized and relief supplies were being delivered by road convoy and by helicopter to Killari and Latur. However, relief operations, as you no doubt read in the paper and have heard from other people, were complicated by the fact that this is a relatively remote area in India, and it is the monsoon season, so the daily rains had the roads churned up and the roads were never intended for such heavy truck convoys anyway. So this slowed down the delivery of relief to some extent. It was still astonishingly rapidly delivered.

The dead were retrieved from the collapsed structures and were cremated, as is the custom, on funeral pyres. Emergency shelters were erected by the military, as were field kitchens, clinics and counseling centers. The military were also assisted by relief organizations such as the Indian Red Cross and CARE/India. India is very rich in indigenous private voluntary organizations and has a number of group international ones as well, and they were on the scene very rapidly.

Private corporations in India donated food packets, meal packets, clothing, drugs, medicine, and more than \$2 million in cash for relief that was raised domestically from individuals, corporations and religious and social organizations. My office sent out two people; one of whom is our regional representative for Asia, and he said in all his experience in dealing with disasters in Asia and around the world, he had never seen such a broad-based response from an

affected country's population at large. It was really very, very effective.

Shortly after the earthquake occurred, the Indian Government announced that it would accept international relief assistance and the Indian Government identified the needs that it had and the kinds of goods that it wanted, which included tents, cash, tarpaulins, blankets, cooking and household utensils, food and kerosene. The U.S. Government responded immediately with \$25,000, which the Ambassador turned over directly to the Prime Minister's relief fund for use in the disaster area.

And on October 2, the U.S. Government sent two C-5 aircraft loads of relief supplies to Bombay. And in Bombay, they were turned over to the Indian Government relief operation for onward transport into the disaster area. Accompanied, I may say, by two of our staff.

The total cargo included over 1,000 roles of plastic sheeting which is cut and made into temporary shelters. As I said, that took care of about 11,000 families; 950 tents; 18,500 5-gallon water containers which are terribly important because in this kind of a disaster one of the grave follow-on dangers is disease from drinking impotable water; and four pallets of medical supplies. The first plane also carried Ambassador Raymond Flynn, his deputy, and our regional disaster advisor and one of our logistics officers from OFDA.

The USAID Administrator, J. Brian Atwood, is the President's special coordinator for international disaster assistance, as you know, and he directed U.S. Government response through our office, through the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, which funded most of the relief commodities and one of the C-5 aircraft, and the Department of Defense covered the cost of the other C-5 aircraft and donated four pallets of medical supplies. These were medical supplies that met the specifications of the Government of India, by the way. Transportation costs and relief supplies for both airlifts were valued at nearly \$1.75 million.

Following the arrival of our aircraft and that of other countries, and should you be interested, I have some details on other country responses, the Indian Government determined that further relief needs could be met locally through local purchase, and announced that further international relief assistance would not be requested. Cash contributions for their rehabilitation phase are still being accepted. Other donor assistance for this disaster was provided by the United Nations, the European Community, foreign governments including Pakistan, as the chairman has mentioned, and international nongovernmental organizations; a total value of about \$11 million.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Could you please repeat that.

Ms. BORTON. The total value of foreign contributions to this is about \$11 million as of, say, last Friday. How much additional money is being generated through the private voluntary organizations, I do not know. We will learn that over time.

Immediate emergency needs have been met, and this disaster has now entered the rehabilitation and reconstruction phase. The construction of earthquake-resistant structures is under discussion between international development organizations and the Govern-

ment of India. And as Secretary Raphel has told you, the Government of India has just signed an agreement with the World Bank for a substantial loan to support the rehabilitation phase of this. At this point, no additional U.S. Government assistance to the earthquake victims is contemplated.

As you know, however, the U.S. Agency for International Development does have a permanent presence in an ongoing program in India. Last year that program totaled \$173 million, of which \$26.5 million were development assistance, \$123.6 million was P.L. 480 Title II food assistance, and \$23 million was Title III food aid assistance. So the bulk of that as you can see is Public Law 480 food assistance program to India. Additionally, USAID authorized last year a \$20 million housing guaranty program for India during fiscal year 1993.

Thank you for this opportunity to testify before you today and to make known, not only the generous response of the U.S. public, but also that of the Indians themselves. Thank you.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Thank you very much.

The chairman would just like to note that we are joined by our colleague Mr. Deutsch, who is not usually sitting in with us on this particular subcommittee.

Mr. DEUTSCH. Thank you.

Mr. ACKERMAN. But he has great interest in India and this disaster, in particular, and he joins us.

Mr. FINGERHUT. I believe you have a brief statement.

Mr. FINGERHUT. Very brief. I just want to, first of all, apologize for not being here at the beginning of the hearing. But thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the witnesses for calling this hearing. This is an important subject in my little corner of the world. In northeast Ohio, we have many citizens who have called to express their interest in how it is the U.S. Government is reaching out to help in this human tragedy. I am pleased to hear a response of the U.S. Government. And from my perspective, and I know from the others on this committee, we would like to do everything we can to make sure that those people who have been affected by this tragedy know that we stand by.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I thank you for holding the hearing.

Mr. ACKERMAN. We are also joined on this side of the aisle by Mr. Dan Burton, also not normally a member of this subcommittee, but who does sit in quite often because of his interest in this region.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I applaud what you are doing and any place in the world where we have this kind of a tragedy, I think everyone in the Congress would like to see us do what needs to be done.

How would you like to live with the bells, these things going off all the time.

However, I did come today to not only hear about the earthquake and what we are doing to help those people, but also to ask a question about a crisis that is going on in Srinagar, Kashmir. As I am sure you know, several Kashmiris who have been seeking independence are barricaded in Kashmiris—

Mr. ACKERMAN. If you would, we are going to do questions right after the vote.

Mr. BURTON. But I just want to make a quick statement so she will know what the question is. But there are several Kashmiris who are seeking independence are barricaded in a Hazratbal mosque, which is surrounded by Indian security forces. And in response to that standoff that is now taking place, 2,000 to 3,000 Kashmiris have organized peaceful rallies to try to make sure that there was not a lot of bloodshed, which would be analogous to what happened in Punjab at the Golden Temple that the Seiks were attached to years back.

I have received distressing reports that many of the people who have been in these rallies have been attacked by security forces and beaten very badly. I am particularly concerned about Mr. Abdul Lone who was badly beaten and may not survive, I do not know, during a peaceful march to the mosque.

According to my information, Mr. Lone either had been taken or will be taken to the Babato detention center. And I hope that our administration and our officials who deal with India will urge the Government of India to seek a peaceful resolution to this standoff. And I also hope you will express my concerns that the Indian security forces show appropriate restraint in dealing with these peaceful protesters. I understand they have got a problem with the people who are involved in the fighting. But these peaceful protesters need to be chosen—there needs to be shown proper restraint in that area and that the Indian Government officials will provide proper medical treatment to the people who have been injured there.

So I have a real concern about that. I have been concerned about this for some time, as I am sure you are aware. I hope that you will check into this for us.

Thank you very much.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Burton. Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. In light of the time, maybe I will make my opening statement after we return from the vote. Would that be appropriate?

Mr. ACKERMAN. Perfectly, and I want to thank you for that. We will suspend for a few moments to allow members to go vote.

[Recess.]

Mr. ACKERMAN. The subcommittee will resume.

Our ranking member, Congressman Leach, for an opening statement.

Mr. LEACH. I would just like to welcome our two witnesses. Let me just say I think from the congressional perspective, the contrast between American and Indian disasters is impressive. We've got record floods in Iowa this year. Loss of life was just several, and look at the contrast of India where the loss of life from several events this year, not only the earthquake but the monsoon, was very staggering.

That kind of perspective is very important. So we are very appreciative of our governments and the many other governments that were over there, and most important the Indian Government, who responded with such a passion to these events.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Leach.

Ms. Borton, you had said, I believe, in your testimony that at this point no further U.S. Government assistance to the earthquake victims is contemplated.

Ms. BORTON. Relief assistance, that is correct.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Relief assistance. What other assistance might be contemplated based on this disaster?

Ms. BORTON. Well, as Secretary Raphael said, we are willing to— we will talk to the Government of India about any requests it might have, but in the meantime the U.S. PVO's, and I believe the Indian PVO's as well, have ongoing programs which include components of reconstruction and rehabilitation, which will be things like looking at safer housing and reconstructing the villages, providing tools, should those that have been lost in the earthquake need to be replaced so that people can again do productive work in the area of restoring economic productivity to people who may have lost it in the earthquake.

But this would be through the PVO programs, many of which are funded through USAID, but it is a more indirect form of funding.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Could you give us an approximation of the dollar value of the losses?

Ms. BORTON. I do not think I can, but I can get that for you this afternoon. A loss estimate for the earthquake?

Mr. ACKERMAN. Yes.

Ms. BORTON. Yes, I do not believe we have that figure. I have heard that figure but I will get it for you and the committee as soon as I get back to the office, unless you have it by any chance. Sorry, we have houses and people but not dollar value in terms of losses.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Do you know if the Indian Government has placed a dollar value on it?

Ms. BORTON. I am assuming that they have and that is where we will be able to get it from, through our Embassy in Delhi.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Has the Government of India requested any additional assistance or—

Ms. BORTON. They have not.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Are they in need of additional assistance?

Ms. BORTON. Apparently, it is their decision at this point that they are not in need of additional assistance for this event. That is my understanding and that's what they have indicated to us.

Mr. ACKERMAN. They are not asking for it, or they are not in need of it?

Ms. BORTON. They are not requesting. We are a demand-driven office. We respond to requests from effective governments.

Mr. LEACH. Will the gentleman yield briefly?

Mr. ACKERMAN. Surely.

Mr. LEACH. I have been given by stellar staff an update from the Embassy which estimates the total loss in the Killari areas of \$520 million, and about another \$150 million in addition from the rest of the areas.

Ms. BORTON. That is very helpful. Thank you.

Mr. LEACH Interestingly, by contrast again to the Midwest, total flood damage in the Midwest will be in the \$3 billion to \$6 billion range although the lost life will be in the several, that is two or three that were lost.

In India, you have much lower dollar loss, but a substantially greater human scale. Part of it relates to the standards of living, but that is a further part of the contrast in circumstance.

Ms. BORTON. Secretary Raphael points out, by the way, Mr. Chairman, that cash is still welcome, and the Indian Government has said that through again the private agencies, including the Red Cross, the Red Crescent Societies of India——

Mr. ACKERMAN. Cash is still welcome.

Ms. BORTON. Yes.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Is that considered a——

Ms. BORTON. It is goods that have not specifically been needed. In this instance, I am speaking of assistance to their victims——

Mr. ACKERMAN. I am sorry. Cash assistance to the victims?

Ms. BORTON [continuing]. Is still welcomed through the private and voluntary agencies, Indian and U.S., who are working in the area.

Mr. ACKERMAN. But not government assistance in terms of cash?

Ms. RAPHEL. My clarification, Mr. Chairman, was simply to say that while Ms. Borton is absolutely right, the Government of India has not asked for any more goods, and they have been very careful and amazingly precise throughout this whole effort to be clear on what it was they needed, and not to ask for more than they needed in terms of supplies and so on, and various relief goods. But they have made it clear that they can still use money.

Mr. ACKERMAN. What would they use the money for?

Ms. BORTON. The local purchase of goods. One of the things the Government of India has said is that the additional relief goods needed are locally procurable in India. That would probably be things like roofing materials, sleeping mats, household utensils, possibly supplemental food, although I believe is not an ongoing problem, supplying food is not an ongoing problem.

Ms. RAPHEL. As Congressman Leach has pointed out with the statistics there, it is a lot less expensive, you get a lot more goods for your dollar if you procure in India. That is the point.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Is our understanding correct that this is the first time that the Government of India made a request for international assistance?

Ms. BORTON. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Why did they do that this time? Why change their policy?

Ms. BORTON. I would suspect, sir, that it is because of the magnitude of this disaster, particularly in the early period when it appeared that as many as 50,000 people might have died.

I also know that we and a number of other governments were making offers to the government, so the awareness of the availability was there. But this is a guess. I have not talked to the Government of India about this. My assumption would be they very rapidly realized the magnitude of the disaster and agreed to accept relief goods for a very limited period of time—I think it is about 3 days—to help with the first and immediate needs.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Sure. This is an appropriate time.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will express my deep sorrow over the widespread loss of life and the vast destruction caused by the September 30 earthquake.

Having lived in California all of my life, I have experienced earthquakes, even last year's Landers quake, but nothing I have experienced can be compared to what has happened in the Osmanabad and Latur Districts of the Maharashtra state in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh in southern India.

According to the Indian Embassy this afternoon, 9,748 people have been confirmed killed, 16,000 were injured, 882,000 were effected or displaced, and 320,367 homes in India were destroyed.

The response by the Governments of the United States, Japan, Turkey, the Netherlands, Sweden, Kuwait and Hong Kong, and others I think has been very commendable. Equally important has been the work of the relief teams from the International Red Cross, the Red Crescent, U.N. relief agencies, and European allies.

The earthquake struck an isolated region, making their work difficult and yet food, medical supplies, and temporary housing supplies were delivered. This marks the first time, as we have said, since 1947 that Indian has requested outside international assistance, in addition to relying on its local resources.

Most important, however, has been the response to this disaster by the Indian Government and the people of India. This is the worst earthquake to strike India in 50 years, and yet relief operations were in place almost immediately.

This coordinated effort by the Indian Government and the army, Maharashtra's Government and the governments of neighboring states, was very important. This is the type of response to this crisis that India needed, and this is exactly what they got.

India is now in the second phase of recovery. The Indian Government has announced that they are set to begin the rebuilding process on October 24, and hope to complete it within 6 months.

I have urged the World Bank to help with this process. I think that this would be a very positive step toward helping India move beyond this disaster, and I'm very encouraged by the word that the World Bank will proceed with \$300 million, if I am correct, in loans.

Mr. Chairman, I think it is important that the United States be prepared to provide assistance in these types of crises. As we saw during the World Series strike in 1989, earthquakes can strike anywhere, anytime. We need to be prepared for the inevitable, and Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your holding this hearing today.

I welcome to hear from the Assistant Secretary of State Raphael, and Director Borton of the U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance to hear what, if anything, can still be done besides what has already been enumerated in your testimony to assist our friends in India.

I would ask you at this time if you see other steps that can still be taken to assist India in this time of need?

Ms. BORTON. I think, sir, that at this point to sort of continue in the stance we are in, which is to make public the need for cash for the local purchase of goods through U.S. and Indian PVO's, and should be in the position of readiness to discuss further requests with the Indian Government should they have them.

Mr. ROYCE. If I understand it, is there one phone number that is being used to associate—at least in the West Coast I understand that there is kind of a command center, or a centralized structure being used for those that want to help India where they can phone in and find out about the needs and where they can assist, is that correct?

Ms. BORTON. There was one. Certainly I don't know whether it is still operational, nor do I know the number, unfortunately, but I can find that out.

Mr. ROYCE. Would you find that out for me? I would appreciate that.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Royce. If one were predisposed to contribute other than cash, just getting back to that, if there were a U.S. manufacturer of some kinds of materials, that would not be accepted, or what would be the response?

Ms. BORTON. In general, and not just in the India case, although it is also the case with India, we do not transport donations that have not been requested by the country that has been affected by the disaster for a large number of reasons relating to appropriateness, usually.

So no, in general, such a donation would not be appropriate at this time.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Do you know who a check might be made out to?

Ms. BORTON. I can name a number of PVO's that I know are doing relief work in India which includes CARE and the Catholic Relief Services, the Mennonite Central Committee is working there. I believe the Salvation Army is there, and then there are a number of Indian organizations as well. There is one called Casa which is a coalition of Protestant churches, and there is of course, the Indian Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

Additionally, as my colleague points out, there is here in Washington the Coalition of U.S. PVO's called Interaction. They have a 202 phone number, and they know others, they know precisely who is doing what in India at any given moment, and do make that information available to the public on your question so that people could choose among the various kinds of relief programs available.

Mr. ACKERMAN. We do want to make that part of the public record. This is indeed the first disaster that you have faced and had to deal with—

Ms. BORTON. It didn't take long.

Mr. ACKERMAN [continuing]. In your new position.

Ms. BORTON. That's right.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Could you, do you have something additionally to add?

Ms. BORTON. I'm trying to see if I have that phone number.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Madam Secretary, do you have something to share with us concerning contributions?

Ms. RAPHEL. Yes, I do.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Would you do that?

Ms. RAPHEL. Mr. Chairman, I've just been handed a list that we have had from the Indian Embassy in which they have stated, and this speaks directly to your question about what an American man-

ufacturer who had some of these kinds of items might be able to do with them.

Of items that they still can use in their reconstruction phase, these include prefabricated housing materials, light roofing materials, orthopedic compression plates and splints, portable x-ray machines and film, and portable diesel and kerosene generators.

And the Indian Embassy has said that these can be transported by Air India still, and I have here an address which I can submit for the record, or read out, if you would wish.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Would you read that please?

Ms. RAPHEL. Yes. It's the—packages should be sent to the Cargo Building 86, Jamaica, New York, 11430, attention export division, and this is Air India, and they have an 800 number—1-800-221-6000, and the release says that a return address and list of contents is required. The inner-packaging should be addressed to Chief Secretary, State of Maharashtra.

So it is our understanding, my colleagues tell me, that Air India is still receiving such packages.

Mr. ACKERMAN. That is exactly the information that I was trying to elicit, not that Jamaica, New York has any special meaning to me. [Laughter.]

Thank you very much, Madam Secretary. Ms. Borton, you were about to share with us your first disaster experience, and perhaps tell us from your unique perspective what went right, and possibly what went wrong.

Ms. BORTON. And this was a particularly poignant one for me because I lived in India for a number of years earlier in my career doing disaster relief and Public Law 480 food distributions with CARE, so it is indeed one that meant a very great deal to me.

It was the first chance I had to see how the U.S. Government operates in a situation of disaster, and I found it enormously thrilling in a sense, the degree to which everyone knew precisely what his or her job was: The USAID and Embassy in New Delhi and from Bombay, we were able to talk to those people from our operations on an hourly basis.

They were in contact with the Government of India on a steady basis, so that we were able to get these two absolutely enormous planes loaded with the precise cargo that was requested and nothing that wasn't requested, off the ground and on its way to India within 30 hours of receiving news of the earthquake, and it was done with a minimum of fuss and an incredible degree of cooperation.

So I was terribly pleased on the part of my government, but I was also terribly pleased because it was India.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Is there anything that we should have done or still can do, that we did not do or have not done yet?

Ms. BORTON. From my perspective, no. I think everyone has responded to this with enormous interest and support and altruism, and as far as I could see the needs, they have been responded to by all parts of our community, government and private more than adequately.

Ms. RAPHEL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to just add that we have an ongoing dialogue in our mission in New Delhi about the aftermath of the earthquake, and we are in touch with the Indian

Government, and alert to other requests that they might have in the aftermath.

Ms. BORTON. And we are poised in our office at all times to receive proposals from the private voluntary agencies who carry out most of our work as well.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Any other questions from the committee? I would like to revisit the point brought up by Mr. Burton and ask, Madam Secretary, if you would be able to share with us the facts as we know them up to this point?

Ms. RAPHEL. Certainly.

Mr. ACKERMAN. About the principal mosque in Srinagar?

Ms. RAPHEL. This is the Hazratbal mosque in Srinagar which is a mosque that contains relics of the Prophet, hair of the Prophet, very sacred to people of the Muslim faith.

The facts, I have to say, are hard to precisely describe at the moment. We don't have anybody on the ground in Srinagar, but reports have been coming in over the last 3 or 4 days, and we talked to the Government about it, and we have their version of events, but it is difficult to exactly pin down and confirm the chronology of events.

But as far as we know now, there are about 150 people holed up in this mosque. Some of them are militants. We don't know exactly how many. We understand from the Government of India that they have threatened to blow up the mosque if the security forces that have surrounded the area don't withdraw.

We have, as I say, talked to the Government and heard from the military and General Joshi, the head of the Indian military, chief of army staff, made a statement that the Indian Government and military wants to resolve this by negotiating with the militants.

They have had an active negotiation process going on.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Who made the statement about negotiations?

Ms. RAPHEL. General Joshi.

Mr. ACKERMAN. General Joshi.

Ms. RAPHEL. Yes, chief of army staff, and we take that as very encouraging.

The foreign secretary talked to our chargé yesterday and briefed him on the situation, and also repeated that they were hoping very much to have a negotiated resolution to this crisis.

Regrettably, there have been allegations going back and forth between India and Pakistan. The Pakistanis remembering the events of the 6th of December last year when the mosque at Ayodhya was torn down, and not making refined distinctions between the situation there and the situation in Srinagar, and in fact, I think not being always terribly well-informed.

They have been critical of the Indian Government. The Indian Government, for its part, has blamed the Pakistanis in part for the whole incident, so that unhelpful exchange has been going on in the background.

But we have told the Indians and have been reassured that their first and foremost effort is going to be to resolve this by negotiating with the militants, so we are urging all parties to be restrained, and to come up with a resolution that does not involve the loss of life, or any damage to that mosque.

Mr. ACKERMAN. If that negotiation becomes one that is protracted, do not the political pressures on the situation argue against a peaceful resolution?

Ms. RAPHEL. Well, I think the Indian Government doesn't have to look far into its history to see the results of handling it in a military way, and we are hoping that that will give them a lot of patience in terms of determining how they would finally resolve it.

I am referring of course to 1984 and the Golden Temple in Amritsar.

Mr. ACKERMAN. The reportedly moderate leader, or one of the leaders, Abdul Ghani Lone—reference was made previously to this person—has been severely beaten by Indian security forces, according to the reports that we have received. Do you have any information on this?

Ms. RAPHEL. My understanding is that he was involved in a march to the mosque on the part of 2,000 or 3,000 Kashmiris who had said if the military did not withdraw, that they were going to march to the mosque.

We have had the same report that he was beaten and detained, and are making every effort to find out exactly what happened to him. He is one of a group of Kashmiris that we have talked to at various points in the last year and a half, and we're concerned about his well-being and doing everything we can to figure out what exactly happened to him, and to urge the Indian Government that he be given proper medical attention and so on.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Have we done that already, or we are giving consideration to doing that?

Ms. RAPHEL. We are trying to find out the facts. Again, I think we were probably called by the same folks that called Congressman Burton, so our people have been trying to find out exactly what happened to Lone, and that trying to establish what has been going on in Srinagar can be an exasperating experience. The telephone lines don't always work, and so on.

But I know our Embassy is engaged in this.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Have we, at this point, made any kind of representation to the Government of India on this matter, or to the Government of Pakistan, for that matter?

Ms. RAPHEL. Well, in terms of the Abdul Ghani Lone case, I cannot tell you for sure. I would suspect however that knowing how that embassy operates, that one of the phone calls that was made in the effort to figure out what had happened to him, was in fact to the Home Ministry.

I can't say that as a fact, but that would be my very strong guess, just knowing what checklist we would be going through out there to figure out what happened in such a case, but I will be happy to figure that out and let you know.

It is, as you know, late in the day, but I'm very confident that that's what the embassy would have done, but we will certainly get back to you.

[The information follows:]

Following the severe beating on October 19 of Abdul Ghani Lone in Srinagar by Border Security Force personnel our Embassy in New Delhi contacted his family to learn about his condition. The embassy queried officials in the Indian Home Min-

istry about his condition and disposition. It also flagged our concern about developments in Kashmir with the Ministry for External Affairs.

Mr. ACKERMAN. I would encourage as expeditious a finding of the facts as you can possibly can, and if you would be able to share those with this committee, it would be greatly appreciated.

We are hearing, I suppose, the same stories and rumors, tales and facts as they come in. It's hard to sift through them, as you say, but I would like to go on record in the strongest of possible terms to encourage our friends in the Government of India to refrain to the greatest extent possible from the use of any force to resolve this issue, lest we wind up with a situation that might result in the loss of lives, and be precipitous of other kinds of situations that would result in the same.

It is disastrous enough to look at the prospect of huge losses of life coming from natural sources and conditions such as the earthquake which are beyond our ability to comprehend or control, but certainly the loss of lives that are within our ability to control certainly cries out for our attention.

I would urge restraint on the part of all those militants within the temple to refrain from any kind of provocative actions at this point, and for the Government to be as restrained as possible in response to the situation, so that this might be peacefully resolved without any more tragedy and any more violence.

I guess I would call to your attention the tragedy that we have to live with of these bells. I suppose that is not a great price to pay for our democracy, considering what others are going through at this very moment.

Let me thank both of you for participating in today's hearing. Although it is the first time here for each of you, let me say that you both are pros, and we are very, very happy to have heard you today, and seen the contribution you have made to this process.

Thank you very, very much for the work that you are doing.

Ms. BORTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Whereupon, at 4:27 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned.]

APPENDIX

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WASHINGTON, D.C.

BUREAU FOR FOOD AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE OFFICE OF U.S. FOREIGN DISASTER ASSISTANCE (OFDA)

Information Bulletin #3

October 15, 1993

INDIA - EARTHQUAKE

Note: New information since the last information bulletin, dated October 8, is underlined.

Overview: On September 30, a devastating earthquake measuring 6.4 on the Richter scale hit southcentral India at 3:56 a.m. local time, causing widespread loss of life and destruction to property. The most severely affected areas are in the Osmanabad and Latur Districts of Maharashtra State. The epicenter of the earthquake was at Killari, located at 18.2 degrees North, and 76.7 degrees East. Eighty three villages were affected, many entirely leveled, with damage to more 30,000 homes. Effects of the earthquake were also felt as far as 400 miles from the epicenter. This earthquake is the worst to hit the Indian subcontinent since the quake that struck Quetta in 1935, killing an estimated 50,000 people.

No. Affected: Government officials now estimate the final death count to be approximately 10,000; the number injured to be 15,566; and the number affected remains close to 150,000.

Total U.S. Government Assistance: estimated at \$1,740,000

General Situation: Initial reports estimated the death toll from the earthquake to be as high as 50,000. Government officials now estimate the number of fatalities to be closer to 10,000, and do not expect the number to increase. The death toll was high because the earthquake struck at night, when most of the victims were asleep, and because dwellings in the region are not designed to withstand intense seismic shocks.

In some villages, entire families perished. As an example, local officials estimate that as much as 60 percent of the population may have died in the village of Pethsanghvi. In Killari, which had a population of 13,000, about 25 to 30 percent of the population were killed and 90 percent of all structures were flattened in the earthquake. More prosperous villagers who lived in houses built of stone suffered more casualties than villagers living in straw thatched dwellings.

To prevent widespread epidemics, mass cremations were initiated immediately. Many corpses were cremated on top of the debris that used to be their homes, making the hallowed site

unsuitable for rebuilding. As a result, the government is in the process of surveying areas where new communities can be built. However, heavy rains over the first weekend after the earthquake hampered such efforts and local officials, for health reasons, directed that bodies be cremated on funeral pyres. Bodies still trapped underneath the debris added to the health hazard.

Relief Efforts: The Government of India (GOI) mobilized quickly to respond to the disaster. Within 24 hours of the disaster, more than 50,000 military personnel, including ten medical teams from the Indian Navy, had been mobilized and relief supplies were being delivered by road, convoy and helicopter to Killari and Latur. Massive rescue operations were mounted immediately by the local police, Maharashtra State government, and the military, which spearheaded the operation.

Despite this quick response, relief operations were difficult due to the isolated location of the most severely affected areas, and monsoon rain showers. There are no railroads or airfields in the



affected area, making it difficult to reach from major population centers. The only two-lane road that connects Bombay to Killari has become the principal delivery route for relief supplies and is now crowded with relief convoys. Smaller roads in the area were initially congested with buses, trucks, and oxcarts packed with people looking for relatives and shelter. Relief convoys carrying supplies had difficulty reaching the stricken areas due to the heavy rains and muddy roads.

Relief efforts were further hampered by thousands of onlookers at the affected areas. One local newspaper referred to Killari as India's newest tourist attraction. Throngs of inexperienced volunteers as well as people scrounging for valuables among the rubble flocked to the affected areas. To gain control of the situation, the government set up road blockades to prevent non-residents from entering the towns of Omgara and Killari, until all the bodies had been located and removed. Five days after the earthquake, the Indian Army, after losing hope of finding any survivors, started bulldozing the affected villages to uncover bodies.

Local relief organizations, including the Indian Red Cross and CARE/India, have been extremely active in the relief effort, as has the Indian public. Volunteers set up field kitchens, clinics, and counseling centers for the victims. Relief supplies also poured in from private companies. Leading hotels offered food packets for the victims; drug manufacturers contributed medicines; and religious organizations and charities donated food and clothing. Numerous private companies reported that their employees are donating one day's wages to fund relief and reconstruction operations. In addition, the media reported that an estimated \$2.25 million in cash had been raised domestically from corporations, religious and social organizations, and individuals.

Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity have offered food, medicine, clothing and essential supplies, as well as permanent shelter to the homeless orphans.

For the most part, the national response during the immediate emergency phase was rapid and effective. The U.N. reported, at a donors'

conference on October 5, that water is generally available from tankers, wells, and pipe systems. Medical and first aid units have been established in the affected areas and are coping with the influx of patients; shelter is being provided; communications have been restored, although electricity is still not fully restored; roads are in generally good condition; and there are no urgent problems with sanitation nor shortages of food. Despite this response, there are reports that a few areas are not receiving assistance on a regular basis.

Now that the emergency relief phase has concluded, with most of the rubble cleared and bodies and survivors recovered, the military has started to withdraw from the area. The GOI is now planning rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts for the affected areas. The GOI intends to replace many of the damaged structures with earthquake resistant structures. Many of the villages that were destroyed will have to be entirely relocated to new sites. On October 8, the World Bank and the GOI signed a Memorandum of Understanding for assistance in rebuilding houses, rehabilitating infrastructure, and providing drinking water and essential medical supplies to the affected areas. U.N. agencies, including the U.N. Development Program (UNDP) and World Food Program, are also interested in becoming involved in the rehabilitation effort.

Relief Needs Since its independence in 1947, India has strived to use its own resources to cope with its natural disasters. However, due to the magnitude of this earthquake, the GOI, for the first time in its history, announced that it would accept international relief assistance. Initially the GOI requested cash donations and specific relief supplies, such as tents, tarpaulins, blankets, cooking and household utensils, food (rice and wheat), and kerosene. Now the GOI confirms that most relief goods are available on the local market, and therefore announced on October 3, that they were no longer requesting further international relief assistance. Rather, the GOI wants to distribute relief supplies already received and then determine whether additional external assistance is required. However, the GOI is still accepting cash donations for rehabilitation efforts.

U.S. Government (USG) Assistance

On October 1, the Government of India requested assistance from the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi to address the emergency needs of the earthquake victims. In response, the Charge d'Affaires Kenneth Brill donated \$25,000 in cash directly to the Government of India (to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund) for the earthquake relief effort. The USAID Mission Disaster Relief Officer (MDRO) was in Bombay coordinating the USG response with relief agencies and local officials.

On October 3, two C-5A aircraft, one funded by OFDA the other by the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD), arrived in Bombay with a combined total cargo of 1,050 rolls of plastic sheeting, 950 tents, 18,500 5-gallon water jugs, and four pallets of medical supplies. The first plane also carried the U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican, Raymond Flynn, acting as President Clinton's personal representative; the Vatican's Deputy Chief of Mission; OFDA's Regional Disaster Advisor for Asia; and a logistics specialist to assist in the delivery of the USG-donated supplies. Ambassador Flynn met with the Maharashtra Chief Minister and other senior government officials and visited several affected areas on October 5 and 6. Transportation costs and relief supplies for both airlifts are valued at approximately \$1.74 million.

Other Assistance The U.N., foreign governments, and international non-governmental organizations also contributed to the relief effort. DHA and the UNDP each provided \$50,000. The World Health Organization provided \$564,971. UNICEF contributed \$110,000 for the local purchase of IV sets and fluids, antibiotics, oral rehydration salts, dressings, syringes, and chlorine tablets, as well as the delivery of emergency health kits from the U.N.'s Packing and Assembly Center in Copenhagen.

The European Community donated \$564,971 in medicines, plastic sheeting, food, and other relief items through the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Contributions from foreign governments include: \$1,946,197 in cash and relief goods from Japan; \$1,595,742 in cash from the Netherlands;

\$1,041,788 in cash and relief goods from the United Kingdom; \$530,302 in cash and relief supplies from Canada; \$443,020 in cash from Norway; \$425,000 in cash from Sweden; \$333,332 from Australia; \$312,500 in cash from Italy; \$285,713 in cash from Luxembourg; \$173,722 in cash from France; \$151,515 in cash from Denmark; \$145,000 in cash from Switzerland; and \$50,000 in cash from China.

In addition to foreign governments providing aid, a number of international non-governmental organizations contributed to the relief effort, for a total contribution of \$2,090,246.

More specific information on other international assistance is available from DHA and the U.S. consortium of private voluntary organizations, InterAction.



Nan Barton
Director
Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance

Earthquake near Ausa, India

Magnitude: 6.4 Time: 3:56 a.m., 30 September 1993

Location: 18.2 N 76.4 E



